1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Central-South China, a script is being developed for the Chuang Minority Nationals in Kwangsi Province.[10] These newly created scripts are based on the Latin alphabet.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few large port cities in Central-South China such as Canton and Hankow. Contact with English-speaking people in such cities and inclusion of English in school curricula accounted for the popularity of English. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges of the region. Although some college students could read a publication in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average, it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except for advanced specialized studies. But as late as 1953,[11]

10. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1068, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 14, 1955, p. 1.

11. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao, Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954, Hong Kong, Hsueh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, pp. 98-100.

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knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in colleges. It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school (secondary school) and college students able to read or speak English has not changed. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from junior middle school and primary school curricula.[12] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in Central-South China, but if the curricula for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication, then there could not possibly be more than 50,000 with this ability.[13] As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 16.

13. The total number of senior middle school graduates in China from 1949 to 1953 was 216,000. It is believed that of this number no more than one-fourth could be in this region. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 571-73.

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which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside. 369 178

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who otherwise might have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found impractical in a modern society and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and universities, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[9] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not 871 178

9. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934; Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbanks, China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey 1839-1923, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1954.

always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be satisfied with his lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together, and with their newly-found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families, they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social mobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in

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EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

Nationalist official singled out two of the most controversial points for further elaboration.

1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948, [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

l:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See the chapter on Political Dynamics in the HRAF handbook on China as a whole.) Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

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Under the Nationalist government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features of Nationalist education must have been covered in the HRAF handbook on China as a whole, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have been far more developed than it was

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

in 1949 on the eve of the Communist seizure of power. 871

The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

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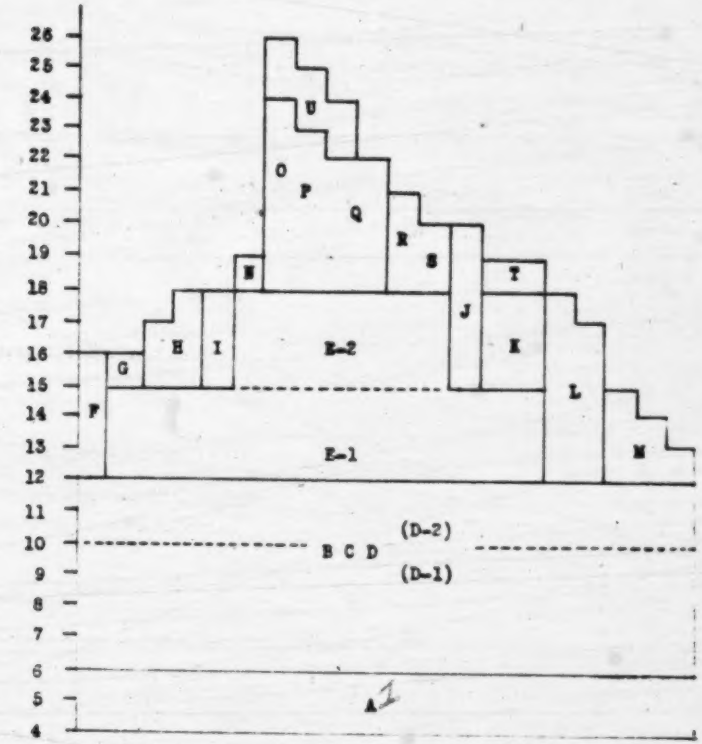
CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

1 [No explanation for these letters has been provided -- Analyst]

(Chart 1 faces p. 259.)

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As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

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Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalist did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

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By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced, 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either

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had attended or were attending schools.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the Government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In the Central-South Region, 48 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Of these, seventeen were technical schools and five were teacher's colleges. The latest available figures on education in Central-South China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

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Table I. Education in Central-South China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools#		Institutions of Adult Education	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Kiangsi	19,446	1,210,219	265	74,541	(2,221)	(102,068)
Hupeh	13,855	949,977	132	47,712	(909)	(17,314)
Hunan	32,089	2,167,961	294	119,597	(1,256)	(3,749)
Honan	19,915	2,000,736	387	110,794	(406)	(8,233)
Kwangtung	22,927	1,958,772	510	142,250	(2,053)	(26,501)
Kwangsi	16,699	1,133,582	227	61,433	(14,286)	(886)

* The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions.

Secondary schools.

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II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

Mao Tse-tung stated in On New Democracy that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[5] In molding a culture for the "new China," Mao believed that education would be successful if it contained "scientific substance, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[6] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[7] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to education, Article 47 of the same

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5. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

6. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

7. Comprador - a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China, to have charge of its native employees.

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document further specifies that "education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[8]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides

8. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, Section B, p. 9.

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the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian style. There have been numerous articles auguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles of education.[9] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle),

9. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[10] 871

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communist instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, 876

10. People's Education, October 1954, p. 13.

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works in non-Communist countries.[12] 876

C. Changes in Organization

Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[13] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both 871 656

12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Last Five Years], Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communist.

13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on "Public Information and Propaganda," and "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions." Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

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expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[14] (1) the reorganization will ascertain the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educational classes in the regular school system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same training as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China"; and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major reorganization of schools was completed.[15] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the

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14. People's Education, October 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

15. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D. C., American Council of Education, 1954, p. 201.

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schools was not completed until late 1953."[16] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization, possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Administration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-years and two-levels." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[17]

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The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities as prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[18] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

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16. People's Education, January 1954, p. 24.
17. Ibid., p. 8.
18. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

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Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*

871 AGE SCALE
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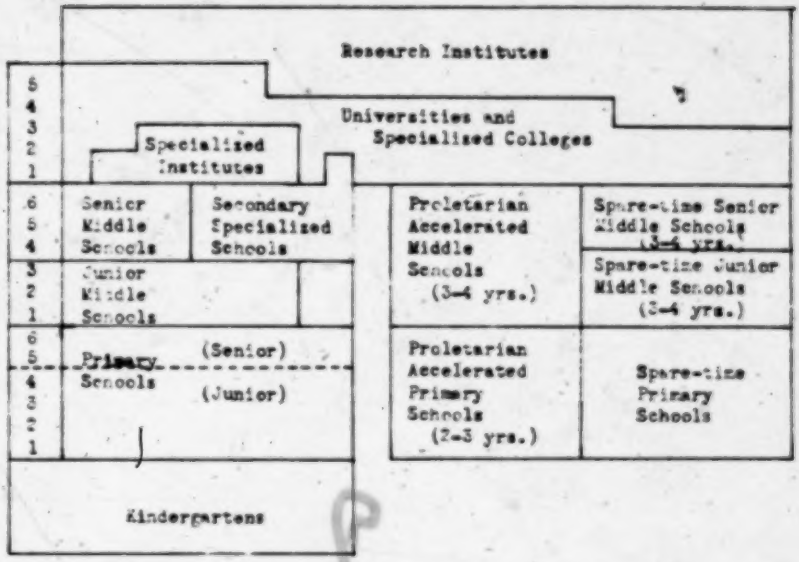

*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1964, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

(Chart 2 faces p. 271.)

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Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The two ministries of education function differently in that the Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program, while the Ministry of education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[19] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activities" other than education, such as the press, publications, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place

19. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

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Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/

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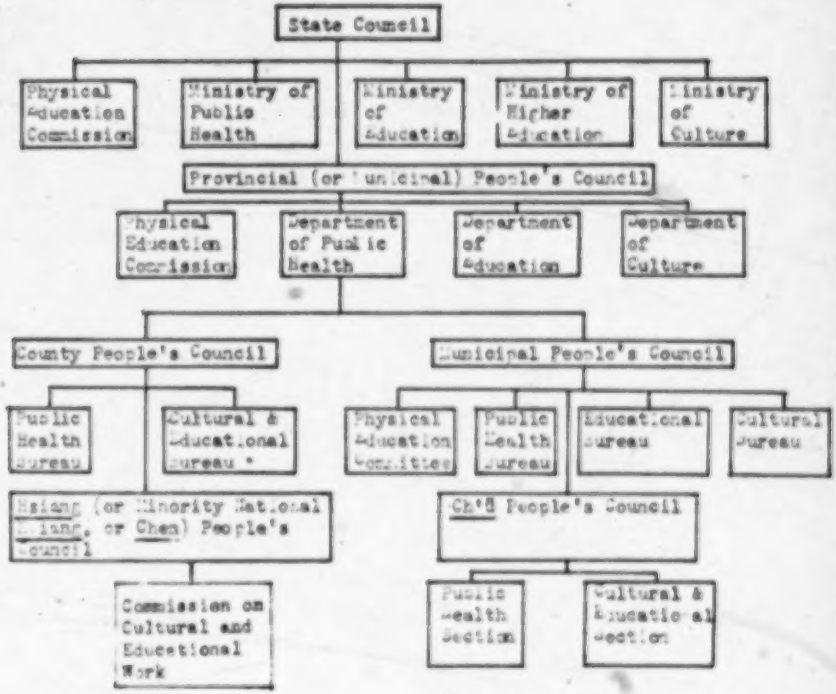

*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

(Chart 3 faces p. 272.)

for the Communist Party. Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[20] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake"

20. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[24] 876

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[25] However, it is obvious that 871 744

24. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.
25. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

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stress on physical exercise can not take the place of an adequate diet. 871 744

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thoughtreform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed. 871

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nation-wide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Central-South China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

The development of kindergartens in the Central-South China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists. Although complete information on the present situation in this region is not available, the development on Kwangtung Province may serve as an indication. The operation of 872

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the Communists claimed that these figures indicated an improvement of education among the proletariat, they also admitted that the schools had not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, who felt that they were discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. 873

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[68] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, 871 563

68. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

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increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[69] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[70] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Central-South China, some 16,170 schools in 1953 accepted the enrollment of minority nationals the total number of students from minority groups reached 103,300. During 1950-52, over 1,300 teachers were trained to teach in schools for minority nationals. In the Miao area in western Hunan Province, the number of primary schools for minority nationals increased from 47 in 1950 to 1,690 in 1952. The number of such schools in the minority national areas in Kwangsi was claimed to have been doubled during the same period.[71]

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of the Chinese language would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see the chapter on Language.) With the exception of such higher level schools as the Central-South Minority National

69. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
70. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.
71. People's Education, March 1954, p. 40.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

College and the Kwangsi Minority National College, most of the primary schools included in Communist statistics are presumably poorly equipped and operated on an irregular schedule. 871 563

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of the Communist Education

Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught in the schools. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of the publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation. 871

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach 876 191

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C. Noted Inadequacies

Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations, and until sufficient classrooms have been built, classes cannot be properly conducted. Lack of financial support for students will make it necessary for them to become preoccupied with their own livelihood when they are studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communist's efforts to achieve educational progress. It accounts for the cases involving mistreatment of students.[73] Furthermore, the multiple system of control often prevents schools administrators from doing a good job. This has caused the Yangtze Daily, the Communists' official newspaper in Central-South China, to comment that, "a schoolmaster is like a daughter-in-law with too many parents-in-law to serve, and she cannot please them all."[74]

73. Fang Shu, Yüan Yü [The Great Injustice], Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1952, in which a detailed account of the I-ch'ang Normal School is given.

74. Quoted in The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists, pp. 25-30.

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Despite Communist efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of a clear-cut policy leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers or students from certain schools without notifying the school authorities. Although there is no recent information on this practice, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking ot issue an order banning such practices.[75] The Central-South China press has reported unreasonable demands made upon the time of teachers and students by the government decree that they take part in extracurricular activities. Each time the government decides to publicize a mass movement, teachers and students are required to help propagandize it. According to one report, 46 secondary schools in Kwangsi Province were asked to take part in a number of propaganda campaigns during the second half of 1950; each campaign lasted on an average of a month, during which time no classes were held.[76] Such a condition was so widespread that the Government Administration Council felt that it warranted the issuance of another decree to correct the tendency.[77]

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75. People's Education, August 1951, p. 8.

76. Report by a Kwangsi Communist paper, quoted in the Salve Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists, p. 28.

77. People's Education, September 1951, pp. 57-58.

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Until adequate officially-approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to the translating of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. Since such translated works have not yet been integrated, it is doubtful that they may help improve the educational system of Communist China. 871

The government's effort to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism, there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not brew among those who have been denied the choice of jobs.

In summary, it should be noted that although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their work is far from accomplished. The attitudes of so many people involved in the system of education cannot be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expediency of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the qualifications of the graduates. According to one report, of the 8,193 candidates who took the entrance examinations for high schools in the eight counties around Shao-yang in Hunan in the summer of 1952, some 98 per cent failed at least in one subject and about 13 per cent failed in as many as

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five subjects.[78] Although there is no informaton available on how the college graduates fared, it seems reasonable to assume that they could not have done any better. 871

78. Chu Po-ch'i, op. cit., p. 256.

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of each member.[19] This practice is aimed at the revitalization of individual adherence to Party doctrine.

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The Central-South China region maintains two schools, a cultural school to raise the general level of education, and an ideological school to tighten adherence to doctrine.

In the country as a whole, one half of the cadres (most of them Party members), have had less than a junior high school education, and some actually illiterate.[20] To remedy this, a cultural school system, administered by the Party and the government, was established in this region in 1951.[21] with the aim of raising the cadre standard to the junior high school level. The course called for two semesters of twenty weeks, with four two-hour evening classes per week. In January 1954 a revised plan was ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, establishing a nation-wide system and bringing both individuals and the responsible secretaries

19. Pamphlets published by the 6th section of Kuomintang on Formosa relative to this subject are of interest: Fe-tang Hsün-lien Ti P'ou-shih [An Analytical Study of Indoctrination of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1952; Chung-kung Tang Ti tsu-chih yü K'ung-chih, [Organization and Control of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1951.

20. Directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the cultural supplementary school system and editorial in People's Daily, Jan. 22, 1954, p. 1.

21. The Central-South China Bureau's directive in Yangtze Daily, May 14, 1951, p. 3.

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below the county and ch'ü levels into the new plan.[22] The plan called for cadre education equivalent to grade school and/or that of junior high school. Also included in the program, and to be completed in three or four months, was a class for the illiterate. Evening schools for the average cadre took twenty weeks at six hours a week to complete. The secretaries and administrative personnel of the Party who were unable to take time off during the day for the supplementary classes would attend school in the evening. 665 871

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. The first group of schools of this type was established in 1951 in such major cities of the Central-South Region as Wuhan in Hupeh, Canton in Kwangtung, and Nanchang in Kiangsi. By 1953, there were sixteen schools with an enrollment of 7,500. The well-publicized Wuhan Marxist Evening School will serve as an example.[23] The school, fully staffed by Party functionaries, reported an enrollment of 543. In addition to the ideological schools, a Party study system in the rural areas was further strengthened in 1955.[24] 665 874

22. People's Daily, January 22, 1954, p. 1.

23. Yangtze Daily, Sept. 1, 1951, p. 3; reports on schools in other cities, ibid., August 19, 1951, p. 3.

24. Central-South China Bureau directive, New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 30-31.